

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MARR, SP

SUBJECT: OPENING REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY

1. BELOW ARE TEXTS OF OPENING STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, BEGINNING HEARINGS MARCH 3 ON NEW SPANISH TREATY. ALSO INCLUDED IS ADDED STATEMENT ON AUTHORIZATION DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY AFTER OPENING STATEMENT. BEGIN TEXT:

2. I AM VERY PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU THIS MORNING ON THE PROPOSED TREATY WITH SPAIN. I HAVE CONSULTED PREVIOUSLY WITH MANY OF YOU INDIVIDUALLY WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE IN PROGRESS AND AFTER ITS SIGNING, AND WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE. I WOULD HOPE THE END RESULT REFLECTS THIS PROCESS, WHICH I HAVE FOUND OF GREAT BENEFIT TO ME AS A NEGOTIATOR. THIS IS MY FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE FULL COMMITTEE ON THIS TREATY.

I BELIEVE THE COMMITTEE ALREADY HAS SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TRANSMITTING THE TREATY TO THE SENATE FOR RATIFICATION. I WOULD LIKE TO BRIEFLY DESCRIBE THE BACKGROUND FROM WHICH THE TREATY EMERGED AND IDENTIFY ITS PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS.

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THIS IMPORTANT AGREEMENT ESTABLISHES FOR THE UNITED STATES A NEW COMPLEX OF RELATIONSHIPS AT THIS TIME WHEN SPAIN IS ENTERING A NEW ERA IN ITS LONG HISTORY. BY THIS COMPLEX OF RELATIONSHIPS WE SHALL CONTRIBUTE TO THE

SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST IN GENERAL. THE TREATY IS ALSO A VEHICLE, FOR EXPANDED COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES IN ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, TECHNOLOGICAL AND OTHER FIELDS AS WELL AS DEFENSE.

OUR OTHER PARTNER IN THIS TREATY, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, CLEARLY BELIEVES THAT OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP AND OUR EXPANDED COOPERATION IN DIVERSE FIELDS WILL ALSO BE OF POSITIVE BENEFIT TO IT, AS IT, SPAIN, BEGINS THE PROCESS OF RESTORING DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN AND RETURNING TO THE COUNCILS OF WESTERN EUROPE. WE SUPPORT BOTH OF THESE OBJECTIVES AS BEING IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND WE BELIEVE THIS TREATY TO BE STRONG EVIDENCE OF THIS SUPPORT.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT IS IN THE FORM OF A TREATY. IN LARGE PART THIS RESULTED FROM THE SOUND COUNSEL OF MEMBERS ON THIS COMMITTEE AND YOUR COLLEAGUES THAT THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE SUBSTANCE AND PURPOSES OF THIS AGREEMENT AND, IF IT CHOOSES, TO ENDORSE THEM IN THE MOST FORMAL WAY UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION. THE TREATY FORM ALSO IS APPROPRIATE FOR THE WIDE SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER COVERED. IT SATISFIES THE DESIRE OF BOTH SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES TO ASSURE THE SOUNDEST POLITICAL BASIS FOR THE NEW ERA IN UNITED STATES-SPANISH RELATIONS SYMBOLIZED BY THE AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS FOR ITS SPECIFIC UNDERTAKINGS. THIS NEW AGREEMENT GOES BEYOND WHAT WE WERE NEGOTIATION WITH THE PREVIOUS REGIME -- IT IS A TREATY, IT HAS A MORE SUBSTANTIAL NON-MILITARY ELEMENT, AND IT EXPLICITLY LOOKS TOWARD EVENTUAL SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO.

THE PROPOSED TREATY EMBODIES A BROADER RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN THAN UNDER THE PAST AGREEMENTS. THIS IS NOT JUST A MILITARY OR BASES AGREEMENT, IT PROVIDES AN INSTITUTION AND ESTABLISHES STRUCTURES TO GIVE MEANING  
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TO OUR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR CLOSER COOPERATION. IT EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZES AND ENDORSES SPAIN'S NEW AND GROWING TIES WITH THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, INCLUDING PROPOSED LINKS WITH THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AS WELL AS WITH NATO. IT WOULD PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR NEW PROGRAMS IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION AND CULTURE, INCLUDING SEED MONEY FOR A MAJOR SOLAR ENERGY

RESEARCH EFFORT FROM WHICH WE COULD BENEFIT AS MUCH AS SPAIN. IT SPECIFICALLY NOTES THAT THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK IS PREPARED TO COMMIT SOME \$450 MILLION WORTH OF LOANS AND GUARANTEES TO SPANISH COMPANIES, AND IT RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS SUCH LOANS HAVE MADE TO SPAIN'S DEVELO-

OPMENT AS WELL AS TO OUR OWN EXPORT EFFORTS.

IN ADDITION TO THE ENRICHED NON-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS, THE TREATY ALSO ESTABLISHES A DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP -- AN EXPANSION OF THE EARLIER BASING ARRANGEMENT, IF YOU WILL -- WHICH IS VERY IMPORTANT TO UNITED STATES SECURITY INTERESTS, AND YET WHOSE COST TO THE U.S. TAXPAYER IS MODEST. THE LARGEST ELEMENT IN THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SPAIN IS A GUARANTEE OF \$600 MILLION IN CREDIT AT NON-CONSESSIONAL INTEREST RATES. THE PROPOSED ASSISTANCE IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. \$600 MILLION (\$120 MILLION PER YEAR) IN U.S. GOVERNMENT GUARANTEES OF CREDITS FOR PURCHASES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT.
2. \$75 MILLION (\$15 MILLION PER YEAR) IN GRANTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT.
3. \$10 MILLION (\$2 MILLION PER YEAR) IN GRANTS FOR MILITARY TRAINING.
4. \$50 MILLION ON A COST-SHARING BASIS AS THE U.S. AIR FORCE SHARE FOR MODERNIZATION OF THE JOINTLY USED SPANISH AIR CONTROL AND WARNING SYSTEM. THIS MODERNIZATION PROGRAM KEEPS THE SYSTEM COMPATIBLE WITH THE NADGE SYSTEM OF THE NATO COUNTRIES. BECAUSE THE U.S. AIR FORCE NEEDS THE SYSTEM FOR ITS OWN USE, THIS ITEM IS OUTSIDE THE PURE ASSISTANCE CATEGORY.

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5. \$35 MILLION (\$7 MILLION PER YEAR) IN GRANTS FOR PROGRAMS IN EDUCATION AND CULTURE AND IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY INCLUDING RESEARCH IN SOLAR ENERGY.

THE TREATY ALSO PROVIDES THAT WE WILL HELP SPAIN TO OBTAIN FIVE NAVAL VESSELS AND TO LEASE 42 F-4E AIRCRAFT.

TURNING FROM ASSISTANCE TO THE FACILITIES WE WILL USE, THE TREATY WOULD GRANT TO US ESSENTIALLY THE SAME RIGHTS IN SPAIN WHICH WE HAVE ENJOYED UNDER THE 1970 AGREEMENT. THE MAJOR CHANGES WOULD BE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TANKER WING FROM SPAIN, LEAVING A DETACHMENT AT ZARAGOZA, AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE NUCLEAR MISSILE SUBMARINES FROM ROTA BY JULY 1, 1979. THESE CHANGES, WHILE MODIFYING THE U.S. MILITARY

PRESENCE IN SPAIN, WILL NOT IMPAIR THE IMPORTANT MILITARY CAPABILITIES WE HAVE TO FULFILL OUR STRATEGIC AND GENERAL PURPOSE REQUIREMENTS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD.

THE DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP SET OUT IN THE TREATY REFLECTS AND SUPPORTS OUR OVERALL APPROACH TO THE DEFENSE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA. THE TREATY IS INTENDED TO HELP SPAIN

CONTRIBUTE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVELY TO WESTERN DEFENSE EFFORTS, MOVING FROM A PASSIVE TO AN ACTIVE ROLE, AND EVENTUALLY LEADING, WE HOPE, TO SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO NATO. TO THESE ENDS WE PLAN TO ESTABLISH A COMBINED COORDINATION AND PLANNING STAFF TO DEVELOP CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR A SPANISH ROLE IN THE EVENT OF A GENERAL ATTACK ON THE WEST. WE ALSO WILL WORK WITH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP MEANS TO COORDINATE OUR BILATERAL ACTIVITIES MORE CLOSELY WITH THOSE OF NATO.

THESE PROVISIONS DO NOT CONSTITUTE A SECURITY GUARANTEE OR COMMITMENT TO DEFEND SPAIN. THE SPANISH UNDERSTAND AND HAVE PUBLICLY CONFIRMED THAT THE US HAS NOT UNDERTAKEN HERE A SECURITY COMMITMENT TO SPAIN. THE COMBINED COORDINATION AND PLANNING STAFF WOULD HAVE NO COMMAND FUNCTIONS AND THERE IS NO COMMITMENT OR UNDERSTANDING REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF ANY CONTINGENCY PLANS. THEREFORE, THE NEW TREATY WOULD NOT REPRESENT ANY ENLARGEMENT OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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EXISTING U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENTS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, NOR WOULD IT CREATE ANY OBLIGATIONS FOR NATO OR THE OTHER INDIVIDUAL ALLIES REGARDING SPAIN. OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF OUR PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO MY KNOWLEDGE HAVE NOT OBJECTED TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

THE ADMINISTRATION IS FIRMLY CONVINCED THE TREATY WILL BENEFIT U.S. INTERESTS IN SPAIN AND EUROPE, BY GIVING POSITIVE IMPETUS TO THE TRANSITION NOW UNDER WAY IN SPAIN. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT TRANSITION WILL FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND HARMONIOUS ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THAT IS THE BROADER OBJECTIVE OF OUR POLICY. OF COURSE, THIS CAN HARDLY BE A STRAIGHT-LINE DEVELOPMENT, AND IT WILL BE VERY IMPORTANT IN THE PROCESS THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT BE ABLE TO COUNT ON UNDERSTANDING AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM ITS NEIGHBORS AND FROM THE UNITED STATES.

IN CONCLUSION, IT WOULD SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS SPAIN'S PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRACY OUT OF A DEDICATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND OUT OF THE SIMPLE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE ARE ALL PART OF A WIDER ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WHOSE STRENGTH AND COHESION DEMANDS THAT HIGH STANDARDS IN THESE MATTERS BE MET AND MAINTAINED BY ALL MEMBERS. THE TREATY IS A CLEAR SIGNAL OF OUR MORAL SUPPORT FOR SPAIN AT THIS TIME. MOREOVER, THE TREATY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A DEEPENING OF SPAIN'S ROLE IN WESTERN EUROPE, THEREBY BENEFITTING AMERICANS, SPANIARDS, AND OTHER EUROPEANS ALIKE. I TRUST, SIRS, THAT THE COMMITTEE WILL AGREE, AND THAT THE SENATE

WILL GIVE ITS ADVICE AND CONSENT TO RATIFICATION.

ADDED STATEMENT ON AUTHORIZATION

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS A FEW ADDITIONAL REMARKS TO A QUESTION WHICH, I GATHER HAS QUITE RECENTLY BECOME THE SUBJECT OF SOME CONCERN. I REFER TO THE QUESTION OF PROCEDURES FOR AUTHORIZING AND FUNDING THE ASSISTANCE CONTEMPLATED FOR SPAIN WHICH APPEARS TO ARISE UNCLASSIFIED

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FROM SUBMISSION OF THE AGREEMENT TO THE SENATE AS A TREATY. I MUST SAY I AM SOMEWHAT SURPRISED BY THE CONCERN BECAUSE WE HAD NO INTENTION, THROUGH THIS SUBMISSION, OF IMPOSING ON THE CONGRESS ANY PARTICULAR MODALITY OF AUTHORIZATION AND FUNDING; WHILE WE HAVE SUBMITTED A TREATY, WE SEE MERIT IN HAVING THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PARTICIPATE AS WELL. IF THE CONGRESS PREFERS AN ADDITIONAL AUTHORIZING BILL AS A VEHICLE FOR THIS PARTICIPATION, PERHAPS IN THE FORM OF A JOINT RESOLUTION, WE WOULD WELCOME IT AND LEND OUR SUPPORT.

OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERN WOULD BE TO ASSURE THAT ANY ADDITIONAL AUTHORIZATION REINFORCES THE ACTION OF THE SENATE IN ADVISING AND CONSENTING TO THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT RATHER THAN SEEMING TO RESERVE JUDGMENT ABOUT SUCH AN ESSENTIAL PART OF IT AS THE ASSISTANCE PACKAGE.

WE WOULD HOPE THAT THIS CONCERN WOULD BE SHARED AND ACCOMMODATED IN ANY RECOMMENDED ACTION. IN OUR VIEW, IT ARGUES FOR ANY AUTHORIZATION TO BE FOR THE FIVE-YEAR TERM OF THE TREATY. KISSINGER

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